848 married, "child would then have a stepfather, who would treat him as his own child" (SM).

551 553 Names, nicknames.- Name given child week after birth, usually by child's maternal grandmother, but also by paternal grandfather or father; either man, woman named boys and girls. Little formality attached to name giving; person "just told the parents the child's name." Children named for ancestors who had to have been dead at least 2, 3 yrs.; now sometimes named also for living relatives (SM). FP thought people "didn't care whether children were named for relatives or not." Names for males, females not used interchangeably; names not kept secret, often used in direct address; no taboo against pronouncing name of dead. Most names meaningless. Some examples of names follow; Gifford also gives several (Gifford, 1917, 227):

551

Men	Women
ɣukaya (MM)	wišimlĭt
še·weh (SM)	čiwa'agum
tiya'bĭ ("Little Bill" Chico, dead)	šo·anuh
po'onol, a type of basket (Jose Chico, dead)	am ba šum (LT)
wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
tu·gayaya·l, a mythical bird (FM)	či·wa·wugum (PN)

551 553 Nicknames bestowed on men, occasionally on women by relatives, friends; had meanings; sometimes used oftener in referring to individual than proper name, but some individuals' nicknames not known generally. A few nicknames were:

551

Men	Women
mo'olohy, brown bear (SM)	u·nal, bear
elemgil, greedy	
muhumbišt, owl	
išt, coyote	
tomogul, bumblebee	

855 Childhood.- Young children seldom whipped, but frequently scolded; LT threatened to whip 4-yr.-old daughter with nettles once in my hearing, but was on whole indulgent to child, feeding her whenever she whined for food, holding her on lap frequently, always taking child with her on short trips, etc. MM so markedly indulgent with his adopted son, 8 yrs. old, that SM, MM's father, criticized him for always buying boy [857] candy, giving him what he asked for. Older children of 12-16, both boys and girls, took protective interest in younger siblings, but were seldom left to take care of them for any length

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here, but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of [551] the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here [648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used
423 by anyone, but once woman had started tending plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP). [421] No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

T
Y
154

[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

T
Y
[769
551]

[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i.e. FRANK MANUEL. - Analyst

T
Y
796
276

[P. 53b] Tubatulabal NS22

saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T
Y
752
276

Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T
Y
756

F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana'twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na'nak ma ana'telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi''i:t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T
Y
[55]

[P. 549] Tubatulabal PS72

T
Y
756
[551]

mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpnil] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɨs, who was Watiˊsti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wuˊni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about nomenclature encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chief's and Shamans, 398.